Huntingford E-4, 3 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

and lying about on the farms. The only weapon is the bow, kongoito, which the Dorobo make themselves from the hard bow (Dorobo ap.) (c. 5 ft. about) (c. long, and the hunting, rest, is made from part of the plant (sp.) Dorobo. Arrow-shafts are made from the hard-wooded and smooth trees, or from bamboo, sometimes arrow-heads are bought from the Nandi, and are of the Nandi pattern, arrows are rubbed in various kinds of fats. Arrow poison is made from the Lobel bush (pronunciation doubtful).

Pottery

Making pottery, kongoi, is a common occupation of Dorobo women. They are made from four of the following ordinary pots, moist, and even with hard seeds from a plant called ngaroriet. The technique is a spiral foundation with a fast then gradually ascending coil, of the straight even-work type and two-step variety, the sides being smoothed out and not rubbed together.

Miscellaneous

Salt used to be made from the ashes of the plant ndongoret (senelio kongoitoki). Red and white earth is found near Timboroa on the west of the Dorobo country, and men go in parties of four or five to dig it, carrying home the earth in large leather bags, usually in order to sell it to the Nandi who, in 1938, gave them (c. c long. Red earth, ormoret, is mixed with fat or ngaiton oil for rubbing on the hair; white earth, ormoret, has magico-religious uses. For carrying a number of small objects a carrying-net called kibukiet is used; it is made of a piece of cord about 3 ft. 6 ins. long with pieces of bone stretched across them, somewhat resembling a pair of handcuffs across wrists. These are sometimes used by the Nandi.

Beliefs and Customs

Religion

Ajiken, the sun, is recognized as a being that can supply or withhold the needs of people. Ask, ngiyan paiyoit, "Ask, fill us with rain," is a common prayer. Some say that Ajiken is the sister, others that she is the mother. Besides Ajiken, it is believed that there is a being called Ilat, the Creator, who produces rain, and "the rainbow is his arm which draws up water for him." The Dorobo also believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called oiwandet, a word which includes the evil (ormoret ngishte) and ancestrepath (evil spirits) of the Nandi. The ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Nandi, and though they punish the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and visit the living, travelling in the bodies of snakes, both to see their people and to get food in the form of blackbirds (honey and water); spirit-snakes should not be killed.

Divination

The Dorobo appear to have no diviners of their own, and when they have recourse to divination, as in cases of illness or witchcraft, they go to Nandi diviners of the type called oiberyet, by whom they are charged a small fee. The people called orkoyot (pl. orkoik) among the Dorobo are no more than healers or physicians who prepare healing medicines from trees and plants. Although the Dorobo have a reputation among other tribes as powerful rain-makers, they themselves say that they have no rain-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 ft. deep in which the bodies are laid full length, wearing their clothes, and your after an old man's death his children place a bowerik of undergrowth (Ehrenbergia sp.) on the grave and let it grow. Other people are laid out for the funeral, both sexes on the right side with

[illegible] 754

Witchcraft

Witches, dorobi (defined as among the Nandi, p. 89), may be of either sex; females are said to be more commonly thought to [illegible] 754 witches or all to the three districts of England, Ergenzeim, and Sweden, and certainly no cases of witchcraft was encountered. Formerly, in cases of witchcraft where the witch's identity was unknown, the Dorobo went to a Nandi diviner, witchpoet, and on her identity becoming known the witch was required to sit the victim on the face, breast, and belly with the fat of a sheep-goat. If the witchpoet, she was said to a [illegible] by a Dorobo tightly round her forehead and fingers till she agreed. [illegible]

Affinity with Wild Animals

Presuming a "hunting outlook," the attitude of the Dorobo to wild animals is quite that of the African to whom hunting is an event of secondary importance. They seem to be closer to the wild life round them, perhaps because they are wild [illegible] and themselves. The conversations of Dorobo going through the forest were quickly to the wild life there, for they knew what they and the forest and contain, " affinity with the beasts of the forest. This was described to a text, to which a Dorobo said: " The Dorobo know the speech of all the animals, and they like to see the animals. The animals are not bad, for we and they all dwell in the forest together. The bodily power of animals is not like that of people, but it is not very different, for animals also are intelligent. All animals of the forest are alike, though we are some and not others, because we the Dorobo and they the animals all live side by side in the forest."

Musical Instruments

The Dorobo have no musical instruments, and they seldom sing or dance. They [illegible] 53 used to have water-buck horns which were blown to call people together in the [illegible] forest.

7. Names

A Dorobo man has normally at least four names: (1) spirit-name, (2) [illegible] name, (3) nickname, (4) praise-name, though he does not use them all.

(1) Spirit-name. The choice of a spirit-name, [illegible] with, may be determined in one of three ways: (a) a pregnant woman may dream that an ancestor of her husband's visits her and tells her to call the child after him; (b) after the child is born, the father calls in his brother and his wife, and one or two other near relatives on the paternal side, and they recite a number of names borne by their ancestors, pausing after each name: when the child answers, the name last spoken is given to it, this being one of the ways in which the ancestors indicate their will in the matter of names; a little snuff is blown up the child's nostrils to make sure that it does sneeze; (c) by taking the name of a relative in the next generation but one, as in the case of Arap Mining's family. These spirit-names were chosen in this manner:

Father's father:	Kipsa	
Father:	Kimining	
Himself:	Kimnyo	Kipsa
His son:	Chesgei	Kimining
His son's son:	not yet [illegible] born	Kimnyo
		Chesgei

The second and third methods seem to be the commonest, and their use depends on family custom; the first method [illegible] described to me, but I believe is seldom used. The spirit-name once given is never spoken, and is known only to the bearer and those who were present when it was given; its purpose is to link the bearer with a specific ancestor, and to ensure remembrance of his name.

(2) Porridge-name. This term is borrowed [illegible] the Nandi, who call it porridge-name because it is given [illegible] when a child is first fed with porridge or gruel (boiled and ground). There are two methods of choosing this name. The father's parents, if alive, and other elderly paternal relatives, meet in the father's hut; they drink beer, which is not shared by the child's father and mother. The father's mother, or some female relative on the paternal side, then holds the child in her [illegible] and says, *Kiberis Kimnu*, "we call you back and such a name", [illegible] a name which the relatives have chosen from either (a) some circumstance connected with the child's birth, like the case of Say above if not born, or some recent action of the father's, or (b) the name of an ancestor of the next generation but one, as in the case of spirit-names; this second choice is made when [illegible] are not found on the ancestor genealogical system.

(3) Nicknames. This is not an essential name, for all do not have a nickname. When given, it is generally derived [illegible] some physical peculiarity or habitual action of the person concerned, like Kipkorum, "left-handed", Kimnyolion, "he eats", Parkitiyan, "hunter".

you are a spirit". A man who kills a snake at night in his hut need not necessarily become ill as a result (as the Nandi believe he will), but the ancestor whose spirit was in the snake will show his anger by never going to see the man again and transferring his attentions to some other member of the family. This would no doubt result in bad luck, for the offender would be continually conscious of what he had done. Another account, however, which I think more nearly represents the common belief, is that after offering a snake honey-and-water or milk, the owner of the hut says to it: (1) *si ayan kon ingoti labunet*, "Go and return when (my wife) bears a child", so that the name of the spirit may be given to the child. According to this account, if a man should kill a snake at night in his hut, he will probably be ill the next day unless he pours some honey-wine on the floor where the snake had been in the night. This should free him from the danger of illness. Snakes seen in the daytime may be killed without fear.

The spirits also appear in daylight as shadows (*arnet*) and they may make their presence known by slight noises, like the sound of a stick being broken. When a man sees an unaccountable shadow, or hears a noise for which he can see no cause, he concludes that it was a spirit which has come to see him, or perhaps just came up to take a walk on earth. But he need do nothing, nor need he be afraid, for at such times the spirits do no harm.

Before setting out to hunt, a man asks the spirits to help him:

Cowa-ilili, chilosi kony ne kiptet,
Spirits, give-us animal which we-may-kill,
chilosi kwanik si kiptirjo.
Give-us honey enough-to-satisfy-us.

Offerings of honey-and-water, *kiswani*, are sometimes poured on the ground from gourds with a request to the spirits to provide food in times of scarcity. Such offerings are made by people at their own homes when their affairs are going badly:

Cowa-ilili, apiijo emiik,
Spirits, fill-us-with food,
si kiptijo sajet.
That we-may-be-filled-with hunts.

When a man is very ill, he sometimes sees what he takes to be another man lying beside him for a short time, who is invisible to other people. When he has recovered, he realizes that this other man was a spirit who had come to help him to get well, and to take into himself the sickness. *Kimyon si kuriju, koro ne koros ole ne ariani, si dongi*, "He came to guard him, and lay where the sick man lay, to make him well".

Evil spirits sometimes attack people whom they envy and make them ill. They also play tricks on people and do spiteful and irritating things to them. A man is walking, for example, and suddenly catches his foot, as he thinks, in a long-drawn tight noose across the path, and falls. But he finds nothing there, and realizes that it was done by an evil spirit. In 1927 I was one night encamped on the edge of the forest between Kipkoreon and Timaya, with

or goat where the Dambo are concerned), wood ash (maphiri, Sh. the fat of cow's udder, or butter, i.e. solidified whole milk), honey-wine, and white earth.

Illness is generally believed to be due to the anger of an ancestral spirit, to the spite of an evil spirit, or to witchcraft. Sometimes, on the other hand, it is thought to have a natural cause. When a person is taken ill the relatives, unless they can be sure that the illness has a natural cause, go to a Nyadi diviner of the kind called sakuyani. Diviners want to charge the Dambo a fee of £[illegible] if the cause was witchcraft, and £[illegible] if it was due to a spirit. But if a man went down to the lower country where there is malaria, and after his return was taken with ague and fever, they knew it was a natural illness, hereto fee, and did not consult a diviner.

If the cause was found by the diviner to be witchcraft, the witch was indicated according to the methods employed by Nyadi diviners, and the sick man's relatives went to the witch's hut, pulled him or her outside, spat in the face and said: "Come and lift he-and-so that he may recover". The sick person must then be oiled on the face, chest and belly with the fat of a she-goat or with wood ash (maphiri). If the witch refused, the position was, especially if it was a woman, to tie her to a tree by a thong the other end of which was drawn tightly round the forehead, and then flog her soundly till she promised to do what was necessary. When this had been done, the witch was driven out of the kraal.

A witch might be of either sex, but they were generally women; in fact it is said that there have been no male witches among the Dambo for many years: they say, too, that they have now no female witches either. Whether or not this is true, I certainly could hear of no case of witchcraft where a Dambo was believed to be responsible. This does not mean, however, that the Dambo are entirely free from the evil thing, for sometimes they are bewitched by Nyadi. When this has been shown, by divination, to have been done, the Dambo go to the Nyadi who live near the witch and ask for their help in dealing with him or her. This the Nyadi generally agree to, for they like witches no more than the Dambo, and the witch is then dealt with according to Nyadi procedure. One of the allegations made by the Dambo against the Nyadi in 1939 was that they did not want Dambo to live in the Nyadi Land Unit (Reserve), and that they were using Nyadi witches to get rid of them.

The reason that Dambo go to a Nyadi diviner (sakuyani) for the detection of the cause of illness and witchcraft is that they have no diviners of their own, for the people among them known as sakuli are not, like the Nyadi sakuli, diviners, but simply people who know how to cure illness with herbal up lotch, medicines from trees and plants, herbalists whom the Nyadi would call sipherezwak. These sakuli (pleg. sakuyani), besides being able to make herbal medicines, prepare charms to protect people from sickness and the evil eye. Children wear necklaces of sphyrenet seeds (called lubwenti in Nyadi) to protect them against the evil eye, and old men wear small pieces of the versatile tree, each about 1 cm. long, tied to their belts as a charm against rheumatism.

the bones of sailors, a belief which, if not overcome, does have the effect of giving him confidence in his ability to deal with an hopelessly confused world. All those parts of human life in which there is an element of uncertainty or danger can be "controlled" by means of magic, not always completely, but with enough satisfactory result to confirm the belief that what has been done is the right thing to do and to keep on doing.

The main occupation of the Trobriand men (omitted) this is one of the things we have been told about. Because owing to ancestral prowess the Trobriand have had to give up coral fishing and now confine themselves to shipping. It was therefore impossible to get both of anything more than a few allusions to the fishing magic of the old days. On the one hand, few of the gossipmongers had undoubtedly sailed the lips of many of the other islands, for fishing is very forbidden, and they were afraid, quite rightly, that if they talked about it, they might get into trouble, as people might think they were still fishing; and on the other hand, ignorance prevents the younger men from talking about it, for most of them have never fished in the real sense of the word. But there was fishing magic. There was, for example, not only a seasonal division of fishing activities, but a magical division as well. In the dry weather people went to hunt for shell with bow and arrow; in the wet weather they set traps down in holes. Even from the magical point of view it is the bow and arrow work that counts badly, for in it there is an element of danger to the hunter, and of uncertainty as to whether he will make a kill. In snapping, the process is mechanical, a mere matter of being able to make a trap. All that need be done is to set the trap and wait - sooner or later it will catch something without any danger to the snapper. So often a man was going out with bow and arrow to hunt in shallow water around lagoonward immediately before setting out on his expedition, but he will should put into take mystical charges. Prayers and the observation of omens before going out gave a new further confidence. But often getting bigger fish shallowness is not necessary.

We have already come across a good deal of magic. The forms of protection when sailing people, for instance, are magical as well as religious; so is the charming of waters after childbirth, and all sorts of things people do in daily life are nothing else but manifestations of the belief in the efficacy of magic. When a man goes [illegible] into [illegible] his wife will to the bush to cook it, the wife is an much a magical ceremony as a mere institution to cook the food.

(Some include the following:)

If the body called Kipatili and Kipitoulou or Kipitoulou (both spoke of counterparts) are seen or heard on the right hand side when starting out to hunt or on a journey, a good will be successful; but if they are on the left, he will be unsuccessful.

If a snake crosses the path from right to left, having first been lying still on the side of the path, it is a bad sign, and a man should return home and wait till the next day. But a snake which is seen in the act of crossing a path is of no significance, "for it also is travelling".

A consent is a sign of existing fashion, and exactly for the purpose who were to, nor for everybody.

This short statement may not seem to imply a very great use of magical practices. Nevertheless it is clear from the general mood of knowledge of the Dandas that the important parts of their life are helped and controlled by magic. The recovery of ritual status after childbirth and after the loss of status is achieved by magical means; the spirit-name given to a child is intended to link it, in a way that can quite properly be called magical, with the spirit-world, so that it starts life on good terms with those powerful and capricious beings; the whole idea of circumcision (cases 2 & 3 harmonize to that of the investiture by means of a magico-religious performance from the state of boyhood to that of manhood); illness and other disharmonies and misfortunes are all magic, and are there because people believe that by doing these they will be enabled to go on existing.

(c) Analysis of Beliefs

(1) Good Fortune. Things which have ritual value fall into three main groups: (1) things which provide sustenance, or are closely connected with such things; (2) things of the spirit world; (3) things used to restore ritual status.

(1) Honey is sacred, like milk in the Punjab, and in addition to the value as eating honey and fruit on the same day, trees, flowering plants, and grass have ritual value because they are all closely connected with the provision of honey: trees, because bees live in them; flowers, because bees get honey from them; and grass, because the flowers and trees may be damaged if it is burned. The last entries means that within the pastoral milieu, the Dandas do not have grass cure honey.

(2) The spirits are offered honey and honey-wine, which thereby acquire an additional value in that their use is directed to both the dead and the living.

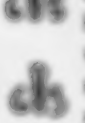
(3) Things used for the recovery of damaged ritual status include goats and sheep, and certain of their products, i.e. milk and fat, as well as barley or wheat as staple food. (4) Many cures from sickness which formerly were hardly practised at all by most Dandas, and even to-day only as a small scale. Happy wives to want a good look, as well as white teeth.

Each period of life has what might be called a standard ritual status, which is changed to a different standard on circumstances, when a boy becomes a man and a girl a woman, with the right to marry and produce children. The ritual status of normal adults is altered under certain conditions: (1) a man setting out to trade is not in the same ritual state as when he is staying quietly at home, and he must not have sexual intercourse at such a time, i.e. just before he starts on, should he have an opportunity, while away; (2) a person sick of an illness has a status different from that of other people; (3) involving a simple means deterioration of ritual status; (4) the breaking of a taboo affects ritual status; (5) means suffer deterioration of ritual status through the birth of a child before marriage, the birth of twins, and even, in a lesser extent, normal birth. In all cases, the status must be restored by a ritual performance.

(Def. cont.)
never have anything to do with taking their part. On the other hand, if an Ami is killed by a blacksmith, the blacksmith immediately place themselves on the side of the man injured and avenge murder, manslaughter, or negligent homicide by murdering the perpetrator. The Wanindiku, to be sure, would themselves be in a position to execute the revenge, but the blacksmith do not permit this because they see in it an encroachment on their rights as masters of the land and in particular also of the ol bosom.

Bodily injury with a fatal outcome, if caused intentionally, is regarded as murder; if negligently, as negligent homicide. Minor bodily injuries are atoned for with the payment of a specific number of bushkiwe. For the destruction of a finger one bushkiwe is paid, for one hand eight; among some Wanindiku who live in close contact with the Ami the assessment for the destruction of a finger or the whole hand amounts to a far-called many. Bodily injury leading only to the loss of an index finger or an eye often remains unpunished, or does unknown unmish. Abortion is said to be unknown, and perversion are to occur. Kidnapping and rape are unknown.

A theft committed in the camp by an inhabitant or stranger is atoned for by the return of the stolen goods; that of a bushkiwe hanging outside the camp, with the payment of ten new ones. Anyone who steals honey from a bushkiwe pays five bushkiwe. Arson is said not to occur; one who is the cause of the illness of another through sorcery is not infrequently killed, after he has been persuaded to charm the sick one back to health. The shooting of poisoned arrows in the camp is strictly forbidden, because of the danger connected with it. Anyone who transgresses this law must expect to be killed immediately by his countrymen.



Unknown are aggravated kinds of death, the principle of repaying like with like, compensation in the culpable body part, mutilations, imprisonment, enslavement, public punishments, the right of pardon.

For the inquiry concerning an unknown culprit, the injured one runs -- [illegible] as has already been mentioned -- to a sorcerer, who is also called at general among the Wanindiku. Instead of the manipulations with the [illegible] he throws a pair of sandals on the ground in front of him: eight times, then picks them up and puts

[1] [illegible] is a Bunsi word also meaning [illegible]

/303 cont./

787 them under his head at night: the next morning he throws the medicine again, this time five times, whereupon he knows that the guilty one lives thus and so and lives in such and such a camp, etc. If the tusks 789 of a slain elephant are stolen (the hunter does not remove them 685 immediately, but waits until they have been loosened by the decaying 754 of the gums), the one who killed the animal raises magic against the thief by shooting at the head of the elephant several times, using as an arrow the fire-twirling stick. Then he breaks the latter and lays it beside the head. According to the assertions of the Wandorobo, this magic is so effective that the thief must involuntarily die after a few days if he does not deliver the tusks to the owner in all haste -- which is supposed to happen almost always.

695 Only in criminal cases are there legal proceedings, which take [171] place in the same manner as among the Masai. Every male individual is entitled to take part in them. The case arriving goes to the one [782] presiding, who is already waiting with a few friends in the shade of a tree near his camp, with the customary greeting and handshake, whereupon the latter opens the meeting with a few of the above-mentioned supplicative prayers. Ulé ngo kowa. Ulé ngo nai. Ulé ngai ngai and closes it at the end of the deliberations in the same manner.

[171] A swearing of the truth is made with the same gestures and the same words as among the Masai. Besides the latter, the formula, Ulé kiwita - may God kill me, is also customary.

[171] To extort confessions one uses the torture customary among the Masai, wrapping a bow string around the upper arm. The Wandorobo call it sodoga ranga. In their court sessions the Aak are not acquainted with any ordeals (moroga) other than the ones discussed by the Masai. Of these they use the following three: The ordeal of the bee, kaa gori waakaa, the ordeal of the dry wood, kaa kaakinga ongoroi, and that of the stool made of earth, which they designate the same as the Masai. The culprit must submit to the ordeal upon the demand of the plaintiff and may not put up a substitute. According to the statements of the Wandorobo, one who is really guilty always confesses before he submits to the ol moroi, as it is also called here, besides moroga, because the belief that otherwise he would die the very next

[illegible] ascribed to the minds of the people. One murder